796 778 In the village of Kangaba a sanctuary, called mande blo "vestibule of Mande," or kaba blo "vestibule of astonishment," is the object of a septennial ritual attended by representatives of all the races /who are/ said to be of the same origin. There ceremony consists in rebuilding the roof of the sanctuary which shelters an object dolin, but only those persons of pure race belonging to the Kéita family (1) and the

551 1. The name of Kéita, for which various etymologies have been found, is that of the founders of the Mandingo empire. Cf. C. Monteil, Les Empires du Mali, p. 31, and L. Tauxier, Histoire des Bambara /Bambara History/, p. 40: "The first kings of Mali lived at Kangaba and were in fact Kéita."

By extension the name of Kéita may be adopted by individuals belonging to one of the tribes originating in Mandé. Thus a Dogon will take on as dyamu Kéita if he comes to live in Mandé. On the other hand, the heraldic device of the Kéita, which relates the high deeds of the Mandingo princes, includes the devices of almost all the tribes said to be of the same origin. This common origin may perhaps throw some light on the institution of regularized name changes observed in Black Africa, a problem which has claimed the attention of some authors; see in particular P. Humblot, Du nom et des appellations chez les Malinke /Names and nomenclature among the Maunke/.

traditional griot of the chiefs of Mandé, the Dyabaté, are authorized to perform the ritual. Only they may penetrate the sanctuary and tread on its soil, which is said to be "heavier and more powerful than all things." (2)

778 346 2. Kangaba dugukolo ka gri fẽw be. The sanctuary is a round hut provided with two doors, one oriented to the east and the

761 funeral rites. There it joins the ancestral forces, the aggregate of which forms a whole whose power is used by the descendants during the seasonal rituals for beneficial purposes.

764 761 The body is buried; it "belongs to the termites" and in the end only the bones will remain and be honored as a testimony of the physical life. Sometimes they are removed from the tomb, examined, and prayed to before being replaced.

761 844 When a birth occurs in the family the newborn child, having inherited the ni and the dya of the deceased, receives his nyama preserved in the pembele and his given name, toko; thus one being replaces another, using the same forces which are used over again and again. Life transmits itself intact. Not only is it undiminished by death, but the dya's sojourn in Faro's residence is thought to be a "reviving," a desirable and beneficial purification. Similarly, the passing of the ni onto the family altars brings about a rejuvenation.

761 On the altars and in the tombs, the "exuviae and bones counted and classified by Faro," are a valid testimony for eternity and serve to maintain the integrity of the whole world of living and dead until the final resurrection.

Attributes of the Person

The Name

551 The organization of the total family /famille indivise/ of the Bambara has already been the object of descriptive works (1). It is

1. In particular Ch. Monteil, Les Empires du Mali; H. Labouret, Les Manding et leur langue /The Malinke and their Language/.

however, appropriate to mention it since certain elements such as family names, devices, taboos, and kinship relationships described as "joking" are related to the components of the person.

Socially, the person is first placed by his given name, toko, that of the ancestor who gave him his ni and his dya, or any other in the paternal or maternal line. The given name indicates the relation to a family group as well as /74/ the person's individuality. It is accompanied by the father's family name (dyamu), whose origin and

55/ etymology are often associated with an historical event (1). The most

1. On the historical aspects of the dyamu, see P. Humblot, Du nom propre et des appellations chez les Malinké; M. Delafosse, Des soi-disant clans totémiques de l'Afrique occidentale /The So-called Totemic Clans of West Africa/, Ch. Monteil, Les Empires du Mali.

familiar names are derived from those of the mythical families (2).

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2. The Bambara myth mentions family names that were determined by Faro when he classified beings and things. It is still generally said of this event: "When Faro travelled, he broke the support for Mousso Koroni, and an agreement as to names was made by him" (faro tama na muso koroni yigi kari la, dyama dyamy ko la dili kera faro fɛ).

On the other hand it must be noted that a dyamu, which applies to a great number of total families living in various regions, is not always reserved for the Bambara groups only. The dyamu Koulouba1i, for example, also belongs to certain Somono and some blacksmiths. This means that a dyamu is not only attributed to a family in its broadest meaning, but also to people apparently unrelated to it. Another typical fact makes it impossible for us to give the term "family" the meaning it has in our societies: a person changes his name when he leaves his country. A Dogon becomes Keyta when he goes to live in Mandé. A Bambara Traoré, if he goes to the land of the Wolof, becomes a Diop (3). Finally, an important family may

3. An investigation of this very important aspect of Sudanese social organization remains to be made.

have several names and devices.

551 Bearing a name confers on the bearer the obligation of respecting a taboo (tne or tana). He may neither kill nor, more especially, eat the animal or the plant that represents his name; any infraction of this rule affects his physical and spiritual integrity.

551 602 On the other hand, relationships commonly known as "joking relationships" are established between families respecting different taboos and bearing different names. One of the characteristic aspects of this kind of alliance is the fact that members of one family are in the habit of carrying out purification rites for members of the other in case a taboo is broken.

551 173 Stories relating the origin of family names are well known and there are several versions that have been published for the principal families (1). Some of these bring out not only the history of the head

1. See among others L. Tauxier. La Religion bambara, pp. 119ff.

of the family, the first-named, but at the same time the origin of the taboo /75/ attached to the name or the origin of the kinship ties observed by the bearers of the name with members of another family.

In this respect, one of the versions concerning the Kouloubali is most suggestive:

"The Kouloubali are descended from a family called kuludyu which lived in an underground village in a place called kuluba (literally, big mountain) in Mandé. A famine which lasted for fifty-two years hit the region; the people did not know what to do and ate the leaves of trees in order to survive.

Two friends, called Konyo (literally, marriage) and Mbadun (literally, I eat), left their homes and set out on a trip to find food. They met three men and decided to join forces with them in order to escape this painful situation. Upon returning to the village, the newcomers, noticing the excrement of a hyena, joked about its white color: "You have only been eating bones," they said. "But no," laughingly answered the other two, "it is hyena excrement." And they asked their new friends their names, adding that they themselves had none. Then together, they tried to make a fire. One night they noticed a flame apparently coming out of the branches of a kapok tree. The tree grew near a rock and the wind, by making

• 55/ 173 its branch rub against the stone, caused sparks which ignited the kapok. They then rubbed two pieces of wood against each other and managed to light a fire which they kept burning for six months. They jealously guarded their secret; men, some of whom still knew nothing of fire and who were in the habit of drying their meat in the sun, came to ask them for burning coals and gave them millet, salt, and domestic animals in exchange. They also gave them their daughters in marriage. One of the men, who belonged to the Diara family, asked them their family names. They answered that they had none. "What does that matter?" he replied. "You will live on a great mountain and take the name of Kouloubali." They then asked the name of their ally (senãnku). "We have none," said the new men, "but since this famine we have been living with friends."

They then decided to celebrate the marriage of Konyo with Diara's daughter and a new alliance (senãnkuya) was arranged between the two families. Later on, other members of the Diara family came to live with them, and a prosperous village grew up where the Kouloubali lived.

As their numbers had grown, the men decided to go to war to gain other arable lands. They vanquished the Toucouleurs /Tokulor/ of the Ségou region and ended up by taking the town, which they entered as conquerors.

One of the phrases of their device: kulubali kulu dyã tasuma /76/ "Kouloubali of the fire of the great mountain" is a reminder of both their geographical origin and their fortune.

The Device

55/ A device, barama, is generally attached to a name and, when pronounced, has the same kind of effective communication (1). Its

1. We refer the reader to the work of Mme. Solange de Ganay, Les Devises des Dogon, in which this important institution has been studied at length and commented upon. The characteristics of Bambara devices are similar. Without taking up the whole problem, it is appropriate here to define the effect of these devices on the person according to the Bambara concept.

course within the individual who hears it, its effect on him, and the return effect on the individual reciting it are all developed according to a known mechanism.

The barama, a word which may be translated as "encouragement," "compliment," or "flattery," is a narrative, usually in poetic form, relating the origin of the name and the exploits of the ancestors (1).

1. The device, in its entirety, is generally known only to the griot, but certain parts of it, certain traditional phrases known to all, are used as a greeting to its owner.

Thus one of the elements of the Diara device bears witness to the role of their ancestors:

"Diara, Zan of Nyaola, Yayiri of Nyaola, your grandfather curved the world like a sickle, straightened it out like a straight road; grandson of God on earth, Diara!" (2)

2. Dyara, nyaola za, nyaola yayiri, i moke ye ka dye kuru i ko woloso ka foni i ko sira tike nin dye; duguma ngala modé, dyara. Nyaola is a village. The name of Zan is always given to the eldest son in a family. The word dyara also means lion.

Another element exalts their courage in battle:

"Diara, Koné: if there is not a Koné among the warriors who will fight, the troop will be beaten (in advance). The lion has broken a great bone" (3).

3. Dyara, kone, kone čé kele te kele min oye fele ye; dyara ye kolo ba kari. Koné is another of the Diara's dyamu; fele describes a group of men gathered together for the hunt or for war.

The Tangara device also recalls their history and their victories:

"Descendants of Falé, Kwonda, Méné: other brave men purchased their right to sit in the village; we, brave men, won it with our bow and arrows" (4).

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4. Fale kwonda mene siw, tow bomaw ye dugu sa ka sigi, aw bemaw ya soro ni to ani kala. Falé, Kwonda, and Méné are the names of ancestors. The device is that of the Tangara of the village of Barbé.

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Moreover, the device also carries a statement of the bearer's genealogy, burudyu (1). To say this genealogy is equivalent to

1. The word si, meaning race, is used to indicate the burudyu, which is comparable to the dambe of the Peul of Mopti.

"attacking the /77/ ancestors." To speak of them, to quote them, and to tell their exploits honors them and pacifies them. In the course of the recitation "the air emitted by the speaker" is transformed by the power of the spirit, Teliko, into coolness which penetrates the ancestors (2). The same is true for supernatural powers. As soon as

2. Teliko ba sumaya se u ma. "Téliko makes coolness come to them."

the Komo chief recites Faro's burudyu, "the air coming out of the chief's mouth is transformed into good nyama which penetrates Faro's body through his pupils and ears."

To tell a man his burudyu is to honor him greatly. He thinks of his ancestors, their fortune, and their glory; he is proud to be descended from them and is incited to do as well or better than they. The effect of the "good word" described above is due to the indirect but powerful action of the ancestors (3). The recitation by a third

3. However the soul (ni) of the cited ancestors is neither called upon nor displaced by the recitation. It is the vital force, nyama, which is put into motion here.

party has the effect of maintaining the individual in his being, of making him persevere by affirming it (4), for the device appeals to

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> 4. This effect is already obtained by the simple repetition of the family name with which one greets a man upon meeting him. It is common to hear the Blacks greet each other by repeating their dyamu to each other several times.

its possessor's soul, ni. If, at this moment, the person flattered is in a normal state, his device causes his "soul to swell and his body to harden, inciting him to courageous action and joy." If the contrary is true, anger or emotion takes the place of contentment and calmness.

The reciter receives in return the strength of the beneficial word which, having contented the person it was addressed to, contents him also. There is an exchange of nyama: that which the reciter sends out and that which he receives in return and from which he benefits.

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That is why the recitation of the device is not always left to the individual's discretion. Because of its importance, it has become a public function generally reserved for the griot (dyeliw) who form a caste practicing endogamy and who earn their living by getting paid to recite the devices and adulations in daily life as well as during public or religious ceremonies (1). But the fact that they earn a

> 1. The recitation given by anyone other than the griot would be far from producing the same effect.

salary for this service affects their dignity: nobody else ever recites the devices because nobody wishes to be taken for a griot, and nobody ever marries him. The griot is at once indispensable, feared, and despised. The mechanism of forces put into motion by his action makes it possible to understand the ambivalence of feelings of which he is the object.

/78/ When the words come out of his mouth, the griot's tere is transformed into nyama, which becomes filled with a force called kuma nyamu, "nyama of words." This force goes from the head to the mouth of the speaker and reaches the person addressed. If a man is wealthy and powerful, it is said that he gets the "nyama from the mouth of those griot who flatter him." He is then forced to pay them for their encouragement. If he does not, they remain silent when

551 passing before his door and thus empty him of his nyama. The man
576 grows thin and poor. The griot may bring about his death with evil
778 words, their nyama attacking the heart, the chest, then the entire
564 body of the victim.

The griot's power over the person he flatters becomes more involved and varies according to what he is reciting. If he recites the burudyu several times, if he speaks at length of the ancestors, their nyama enters his mouth and is added to his own, thus reinforcing the power of the word. Thus, when the griot recites a barama without receiving payment, his nyama attacks the person spoken to. If this offense is repeated and if the burudyu is recited, the man is forced to pay if he does not wish to be attacked by the much more formidable nyama of the ancestors.

In these various situations, the tere of the person flattered intervenes: if it is good, it fights to defend the person, but if it is weak or wicked, it joins the ancestral forces and the person is doubly threatened.

The recitation is always made by the griot before a witness so that his action will be more binding and make the miser lose face. On the other hand, a man who pays the griot generously is looked after by the latter who sings of his generosity on all occasions and announces the sum he has received; often he does not hesitate to exaggerate the total amount received if he can hope to profit by doing so (1).

[789] 1. If the griot knows that the wealthy man he is addressing is miserly, he rubs his teeth with roots which he knows has the power to make his words even more effective.

[554] Sometimes a man reaches a secret agreement with the griot in order to gain prestige. He publicly gives him a considerable sum, part of which the griot returns the following day as agreed upon. The gift is so generous that none can surpass it.

[585 561] This practice is particularly apparent at the time of marriage. The men of the same age grade as the groom outdo each other in their gifts to the griot. The one who has given most passes for the most generous. Sometimes the griot invents a new barama on the spot even though he does not know the device.

551 576 778 564 The device is recited on numerous occasions. After a birth, the griot proclaim it in the course of the name-giving ceremony, addressing themselves to the father, then to the newborn child /79/ who thus receives it for the first time. At a marriage the barama of the two partners are alternatly recited. In everyday life, the recitation is carried on most frequently during religious ceremonies or feasts. In the hunt or at war, it has the effect of helping the participants and increasing their courage (1). In a meeting it is used to greet people

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1. If the griot recites it to a war chief and the town under attack is taken, he receives part of the loot.

bearing the same name, and if one of the assistants is to be particularly honored, the first words of his device are recited.

531 755 In case of illness, the ally (senãnku) (2) comes to the patient's

2. See p. 119.

side and recites his barama to encourage him and help him get well. If he is dying, the recitation, which is then the equivalent of a prayer, may help his soul return. After death, the ally, the griot, and the [764] blacksmiths come near the corpse to recite his barama in order to honor him.

551 576 539 The devices pertaining to the various crafts are used when addressing the artisan with whom one has business. Thus the blacksmith to whom one brings work is greeted first by his name to which is then added:

"ini fara ani goni, you are with stone and fire."

A person crossing a field will say to the farmer bent over the earth: "i ni tye i ba ka kusebe daba, greeting to him who handles the hoe well," or simply: "i ni tye daba la, greeting to him who is with the hoe." To the shoemaker one would say: "bana ani ba golo, (you are) with the acacia (3) and the goat leather."

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3. This refers to the bana or boina (Acacia arabica) used by the shoemaker to make a black dye.

551 The institution of the device, with all its elaborations, has the
576 effect of confirming people in their bodies, their spiritual principles, and their social functions. Except for the cases of emigration mentioned above, the occasions are rare indeed when an individual is obliged to change his name or device during his life. A woman keeps her father's barama even after marriage.

551 An illegitimate child receives neither the name nor the device of
848 his family. They may be given him later if the father makes himself
564 known. A Bambara who contracts a misalliance, for example, by
783 marrying the daughter of a blacksmith or a griot, will bring into the world impure children who will never have a right to their father's barama (1).

1. Such a child is said to be a sofali (literally, horse donkey), that is, a bastard.

552 We must add that the prerogative of having a device is not limited
782 to humans. All animate beings, many /80/ inanimate ones, the elements of nature, places, villages, plants, animals, and all the supernatural powers have theirs which men address during prayers.

The Taboo

784 One or several eating taboos, tne or tana, are attached to the
[551] family name and are observed by all who bear the name. According to certain initiates, the taboos were decreed by Faro when he determined the food proper to each species (2) after having classified the

2. See p. 52.

beings of creation. For the common man, the origin of the taboo is always the subject of a tale or legend and justifies the bonds between an ancestor of the family and the animal or plant designated. Most frequently, the animal has helped the man, has saved his life, or the other way around; or else, following some serious events, the ancestor was transformed into an animal or plant. Numerous versions of the origins of such bonds are given.

*173 is known as the solo (1); they sought [19] a remedy to this

● [551]

1. Solo is a woman's surname.

calamity by emigrating. Some went to Dia-bolo near Djenné; others went to Nya Ngolo-la in Kaminiadougou.

Is there a relationship between the origin of the Kouloubali family just discussed and that of the Kouloubali founders of Ségou and Kaarta? I have no doubt that there is, because all the Kouloubali go back to a common ancestor prior to the thirteenth century, one of whose descendants, allying himself by marriage to the Kefta clan, founded the branch of Kouloubali composed of the so-called masa-rin' families (1).

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1. By the term masa-rin', the traditionists mean, in addition to the ruling Kefta and their followers, various families who are closely connected with them. The following are prominently mentioned: the Kouloubali, the Konaté and the Kourouma. Not all the members of these dyamu, even the Kefta, are masa-rin'; only certain branches are.

The Bambara of the Tarikh-es-Soudan

175 The Bambara, established in the area with which we are concerned before or after the Kouloubali, whose traditions we have just discussed, have no precise traditions - at least none which give any detail. The general history of all of these peoples is doubtful.

To be sure, the Tarikh-es-Soudan does allude to the Bambara, but it is difficult to tell in what sense the term is used, since it often simply means "pagans." However, in the following citations, it seems to me that the Tarikh does refer to the Bambara here studied, all the more so because in this chronicle,

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1. The name Mamari, among the Bambara, is the equivalent of Mohammed. It is a common given name, even among pagans; the dyeli Karé Tammoura, perhaps because of his own conversion to Islam, used the name Mamari more often than the more common Biton. The cognomen Biton, is a hybrid adopted by the Peul as an equivalent for ton-dem'. The same personage was formerly called fa Tigi-ton', which also indicates Peul influence and which is, on occasion, shortened to fa Tigi, rendered by some who misheard the original as fo Tige and also fo Tinye.

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*173 increased over his people, Mamari felt the stirrings of ambition grow. The defeat and rout of the people of Doua gave a definite orientation to his projects for domination. However, there was one thing he needed to carry out his plans: an army completely under his control.

As a start toward carrying out his designs, he sent a message to the people of Doukounna and Banan-koroni, his oldest and most faithful allies, with a request that they send their elders to him on a permanent basis to form a council which he would consult on all appropriate occasions. The elders agreed to remain with him during the dry season, but they insisted on returning home in the winter to look after their own affairs and those of their people.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the young men of Doukounna and Banan-koroni were fighting around Kirango on Mamari's behalf. When the latter could not overcome the elders' resistance, he resolved to use force (2). He caused a deep well

2. With the assistance of his new partisans, the people of Dina and those from the left bank of the Niger.

*173 When he had returned to Ségou, Da asked for a column to be led against Fon-ba-na, near Sikasso; this town was taken.

He destroyed Dya-kourou-ma, near Sansanding, because its chief was called Toto, a name which he disliked. He seized Toto's son and made him take a new name.

He captured Da-tou and put him to death.

"What have I done to you?" said Da-tou.

"You once said that you'd make Ma-koro's couscous taste bitter. I am proving that, on the contrary, you will make it taste good!"

On his return to Ségou, Da received a visit from Douga-koro, of Koré, who had come to pay him respects.

"Thanks for your visit," Da said to him, "old men are the [92] remedy of the young, and it just happens that I have some information to ask of you. Do you know of any villages in the Miniankala region which my father did not succeed in capturing?"

"No, I know of none; and, if there were any, I'm sure it would only be because he did not wish to take them."

"Come now, think it over!" and Da started to talk to other visitors. Douga-koro, much upset, asked leave to retire to his host's house in order to reflect. However, as soon as he was outside, he started for his village to warn the people of the imminent arrival of Da.

On the eighth day after this interview, Da summoned the chief of the Somono and ordered him to make all arrangements for a strong column to cross the Bani; with this purpose in view, the pirogues had to go down the Niger to Mopti and then up the Bani to the desired place.

Da destroyed Koré and killed Douga-koro. He made Douga-
●[55] koro's son prisoner and gave him the name M-fa-ni-moné-té-koun' (My father's soul no longer suffers), to which the reply was Den'-nyouma (good son). In the same way he had given Bani's son the name Malo-bora-m-fa-la (My father is no longer ashamed), with the reply Den'-nyouma (good son) (1).

1. This method of naming slaves was very common. See Les Khassonké [The Kasonke], p. 344.

[103]

History of the Empire of Kaarta

The Descendants of Nya Ngolo

*173 Sounsan (1). When Sounsan and his people had crossed

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1. As we shall see, the given name marks some event connected with the person's birth. It is common practice, when the delivery is difficult, to hang a rabbit's foot at the mother's side, hence the name Sounsan ("rabbit" in Bambara). The name Péné, used elsewhere, has the same etymology.

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Sounsan is said to have practiced the saddle-maker's trade at Kounando. It is told how one day he went with a kulé (a native carpenter) into the country to get some wood needed for a saddle. At one point the two became separated. The kulé found some honey and ate it, only to be taken sick. He threw up the honey on some stones and then went away. Soon after, Sounsan passed the spot and, seeing the honey, picked it up and ate it. When, on his way back, he learned how the honey happened to be there, he was so disgusted and cursed the kulé so roundly that, since that time, none of his people can touch a kulé with impunity. All members of that caste are thus tne (taboo) for that branch of the Kouloubali.

*173 the Niger with the help of the poyon', they proceeded in the direction of Lamballaré (2). There, at the village of Darigo, Sounsan

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2. In the Soninké language, this is the name of the region watered by a swamp

2: Monteil--117 G-5 (1902-1923) 1924 FA8 Bambara FA8

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Massa and His Descendants (Massa-si-ou) (3)

3. "Native traditions often make out that Sonsa and Sounsa-Massa are one and the same person, to whom they give the title of massa or mansa, meaning 'king' in Banmana, so it is that the word massa-si or mansa-si should be interpreted to mean 'descendant of the king' and not 'descendant of a man named Massa'" (Delafosse, in Traditions historiques et légendaires, p. 52, note 4).

"The Kouloubali who were descended from Niangolo, the elder brother of Baramangolo, had adopted the title of Massa-si (descendants of the king) because they belonged to the senior branch."

It is evident that this interpretation does not correspond with my text. However, I have often been told by native traditionists that Massa-si means "descendant of a man named Massa." It might be that Sounsan-Massa was a double name applied to a single person, as was the case for several Massa-si chiefs, including Seba-Mana, Gran-Forokoro, and Massa-Bakari. Even though a single person is meant, that would still be no obstacle to the assumption that the word Massa-si means "descendant of Massa" by an abbreviation of Soun-san-Massa, since we have analogous examples: Biton-si and Ngolo-si are used to designate respectively the descendants of Mamari-Biton Kouloubali and Ngolo Dyara. It is true that Massa-si, composed of massa meaning "king," may refer to a whole royal lineage, but it should be noted that among

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the Bambara with whom we are concerned, the expression Massa-si is only used when referring to the royal lineage of Kaarta.

Massa (1670-1690). In order to combat Massa, the Marka people of Darigo summoned the Bambara who were [108] under their authority and whose principal chiefs were the following: Tonnéguéla Mari-dyan Dembélé; Konikoni Tiénégué Dyara; Tiéma Dyara; and Sanou-ba-Mamari Dyara of Fala-da-la.

The siege of Sounsan-na began. Thanks to preparations made in advance, Massa was able to hold out for many months, while making sorties against the attackers.

However, neither side had prevailed when, in the eleventh month, Massa managed to escape during the night. Followed by the boldest of his followers, he fell on the village of Mari-dyan Dembélé, sacked it and, loaded with booty, managed to return to his tata. He appeared next day on the roof to taunt Mari-dyan and showed him his favorite wife and her finest embroidered blouse.

Such audacity gave the other chiefs food for thought; each of them reflected that Mari-dyan's fate might be in store for himself and so the Bambara chiefs took counsel. However, just as the discussion was about to get started, one of those present, Sanou-ba Mamari Dyara, withdrew, saying that he did not want to take part in any deliberations along with a one-eyed man, because the only result would be a disaster. He was referring to Konikoni Tiénégué Dyara who, indeed, had only one eye.

Upset by these circumstances, the allies parted to return home; so Massa was saved. However, at the instigation of the Marka people, the Bambara chiefs made all the trouble they could for Massa. They sent word to Ségou to the descendants of Barama-Ngolo that the fugitives vainly sought by their ancestor were still in their country and they offered to help in any undertaking against them (1).

1. Massa is reputed to have had 67 sons and 76 daughters. In principle, he imposed

567 unlikely -- he may even own slaves himself and use them as substitutes.

Thus the relations between master and slave gradually become very different from what our European minds imagine. A master is bound to his wolo-so [193] by a thousand ties: he admits them to the cult; he marries their daughters; he circumcises their sons along with his own; and he allies himself with some of them by fraternization or an oath.

Even if he does not have such close contact, the wolo-so who is freed from labor, who perhaps lives at some distance or, if nearby, in virtual independence, is henceforth a dyongoro, that is, "freed." The link is not severed, and the freed man is a kind of relative. He is interested in everything that happens in his master's community and is present upon all important occasions, never coming with empty hands. Reciprocally, he is never treated like a stranger by the master. The master contributes to every event concerning him: he helps him get his sons married and established; on the occasion of the soli, he assembles his children along with his own, which gives them a degree of common solidarity.

The admission of the wolo-so to his master's community is shown publicly by the fact that the wolo-so bears the dyamu of his master.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that the house slave's situation is always so fortunate; it depends on many different factors (1).

> 1. A slave is seldom permitted to buy his freedom; the slave himself does not seek this redemption which would free only him and leave his family and most of his property in the hands of the master.

551 596 614 The dyamu. This is the name given to himself by the native, bestowed upon him by others, or inherited from his ancestors, but in any case one that has become such an honor that merely to pronounce it is enough to bring forth a show of homage toward one who bears it, for example, Kouloubali, Dyara, Dembélé, etc.

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This is because the dyamu in itself sums up the history of the community that bears it; it implies everything involving the ancestors, as well as the achievements of present members, their ignominies, and even their fraternal, conjugal, political, and supernatural alliances.

One might imagine that one or another of the characteristic aspects covered by the dyamu would serve to identify the bearers of the same name, but the Europeans who study the native milieu have long been accustomed to identifying those who bear the same dyamu by means of [194] their respective tne (interdicts), and the natives do the same (1).

1. When this was first being done, there was an error of interpretation and hasty generalization which falsified the results. The tne which accompanies the dyamu was made analogous with totem, and it was stated that the dyamu and the name of the tne object were one and the same. Careful study has established that there is nothing to the alleged correspondence.

For the Black, any of his fellows who bears the same dyamu as his and shares with him one or more tne is regarded as a relative, even though he may belong to a different people.

Among individuals of different peoples, certain dyamu, although dissimilar, are regarded as equivalent and are interchanged, because those who bear them have common tne (interdicts).

As a result of one of the alliances that will be described later under "Relations between Communities," the tne of one party henceforth become the tne of the other, and vice versa, and this leads to the equivalence of dyamu. Marriage sometimes has the same effect when the union is an important one, greatly desired, or even more, is the sort of marriage that forms indissoluble bonds and an unshakable solidarity between families.

553 851 [562] Women are not admitted to the men's circle. Gathered near the mother's hut, they know that a name has been given, but do not know what it is. The woman who tied the cord then washes the baby three times in warm, soapy water and, taking water into her mouth, sprinkles the tiny body from neck to lower back three times. She then expresses her good wishes. Carrying the child, she goes to the door of the hut, where the father and family heads are waiting, and asks the name. Then she returns to the women and places the child on the lap of an old woman who blows into the baby's ears three times and then shouts in each ear: "Kuyo! Kuyo! i tua dara, "that is, "Kuyo! Kuyo! [854] your name is ...." The child is then wrapped in the narrow swaddling band which the mother will henceforth use to carry him on her back, and if it is a boy, the baby is rolled three times over the blade of an ax, or if a girl, over an iron implement for picking cotton. While this is going on, everyone is expressing best wishes.

[184] In Kaarta the ceremony is somewhat different. A beef or a sheep killed in front of the mother's hut, and dege [Ed., coarsely ground millet in water] is also prepared. The baby's head is shaved, and the hair is placed on the dege. Each guest [564] puts his right hand on the edge of the gourd and a griot expresses good wishes for the newborn child. Then the guests dance around the dish of dege; the hair is removed from it and given to the mother to keep. [213] Then if the occasion warrants it, the [304] three lines of tattooing peculiar to the Kouloubali are made on the baby's face with a dagger. Finally the griot takes the child, carries it around the crowd, and returns it to the father, who must then make known the chosen name. When the father has pronounced the name, the griot again takes the child and, making a trumpet of his hands, cries out to him three times: "your name is...."

● 551 In principle, the name (tua) recalls some circumstance surrounding the birth. A posthumous child is usually given his father's name, as though he were the reincarnation of the father, or more commonly, he is called Fa-n-ko, "posthumous" (literally, "the one who came after the fa"). If the baby shows some resemblance to a deceased person, he is named for the person or,

●551 more often, called sagi, "the one who has come back." A woman who was barren for a long time gives her child the name of the agent to whom she attributes the cessation of her sterility: Nyana-m-ba, "the great nyana"; Mori-ba, "the great marabout," etc. She does the same thing if she has triumphed over some evil spirit through the aid of some such intermediary, but in that case it is usual to abandon the child at birth; a substitute mother will rescue it. This is a "castoff" child (fili), and from this comes his name, Fili. Such a child may be named for the place where it was abandoned, Sunkun', "refuse heap," for instance, or for his rescuer, Numuke, "blacksmith," or Dyelike, "griot." A child who survives after a series of stillbirths is regarded as the incarnation of an evil spirit finally defeated, and the spirit in question is, so to speak, stigmatized by having the child called Malo-bali, "shameless," or Tuantan', "anonymous." The tua is often merely the name of the month, day, or season of birth: Tenen' "Monday"; Sunkalo, "month of Ramadan"; Sama, "winter season." Twins are both called Fune, literally, [845] "alike," but they are sometimes purposely differentiated by calling one of them Sio and the other Sie-koro (1); if the twins are

1. See Humblot.

girls, they are called Wassa and Bafune (1) [Ed., footnote above]. In the Bani area, the next child born after twins is called Konimba (1) [Ed., footnote above]. A child born when it had appeared that the mother would have no more children is called Kosa (1) [Ed., foot note above], literally, "business completed." There are families [214] who always use the same name for the eldest sons. Among the Massa-si at one period this name was Bo (1) from which come: Musu-kura Bo; Sira Bo; etc. (meaning

1. Bo is etymologically the same as Ngolo.

"Bo, whose mother was Musu-kura"; "Bo, whose mother was named Sira"; etc.). In Ségou the Kouloubali likewise adopted

● 551 the tua Ngolo, from which come Nyana Ngolo, Barama Ngolo, Solo-Ngolo, etc. In the family of the Bambara chiefs of Femay (2) (a canton in the circle of Djeimé), the eldest son was

2. See Humblot.

given the name of the paternal grandfather; the second son was called Moussa; the third, Abdoullah; the fourth, Ngizi; and the fifth, Souleyman. The girls were called, in order of age: first, Fatouma; second, Awa; third, Nyele-ba or Nye-ba; fourth, Dyomene; fifth, Kounadi; and the sixth, Aminata (2) [Ed., footnote 2 above].

There are other names very commonly used for the eldest child: Ntyi and its endless variants for boys; Nya or Nyele for eldest daughters. The last two are so common in the Ségou region that the Soninké derisively designate the Bambara of that area with the expression, Nya ni Nyele-u, "the people of Nya and [606] Nyele." Since husband and wife are forbidden by custom to pronounce the names of their respective parents-in-law, complications arise when, as often happens, a child is named for them. Respect for the interdict is preserved by using a paronym: for a boy, Tye-koro, "the old man"; for a girl, Moso-koro, "the old woman." To satisfy this same interdict, there are true synonyms locally: thus, for Mussa the name Dyigi is used; for Mori-ba, Bo-dyan. Individuals are often designated by these double names whose two parts are synonymous; thus, there are the Mussa-Dyigi or Dyigi-Moussa, the Bodyan-Moriba, and so forth.

The foregoing are some of the characteristic traits that show how individuals are named among the Bambara, but actually the subject is inexhaustible.

846 After the name-giving ceremony, the mother resumes her normal life, although she must still observe certain prohibitions: notably, there must be no sexual intercourse for the first three months; and during the same period she must not change her coiffure nor leave the village. Once this period is over, she covers herself with jewelry, [215] beads and pieces of amber -- borrowed from neighbors or relatives, if need be -- rubs the baby with butter, and goes to present him to the local notables.

794 [292] Some of the clergy use a disguise when officiating in public; furthermore, the ceremonies are held only at night. Finally, in the presence of the profane, the initiated [498] use a special language for everything referring specifically to the cult. The greatest secret of all is the name of the nyana, ● [551] because anyone who knows the name has complete power over the spirit it designates.

794 298 From the point of view of the disguised clerical body, this secrecy is virtually impenetrable. A disguised person loses his human personality and is withdrawn from the natural world. It is an accepted fact that it is dangerous for those not affiliated to intercept his glance through the tiny openings in the mask; undoubtedly his person on that occasion is impregnated with a fluid whose emanations are fatal to those who, not being affiliated, are unprotected against them.

Some of these disguises include a headdress or mask and for the body a kind of costume usually made of long strips of vegetal material; is this, as has been suggested, simply a means of dominating the herd of adepts and even more the profane through the terror such regalia inspires when seen at night by the flickering light of torches and bonfires? It seems more probable that one must put this matter on the plane of the supernatural in order to understand it. Dangerous wild animals [825 TK] are believed to be incarnations of evil and powerful gods, and an attempt is made to present an outward appearance consistent with the terror merely seeing them inspires, in order thereby to acquire the supernatural qualities that characterize them (1).

1. There is no doubt that some individuals, under the influence of the role of wild beast that they are portraying, have been led to commit actual murders during ritual observances. I have often heard this asserted in connection with the dyara (lion).

794 782 It should be noted that the costume, gestures, [259] dances, songs, and music of the dye-n-fa and their acolytes

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565 3. the free men;

4. people of caste, such as blacksmiths, etc. (see below);

5. slaves.

567 e. Slavery. -- A man became a slave in three ways: by violence, by obligation, or by birth.

567 1. By violence. If a war captive is important, he may be
727 killed or he may be held for ransom and treated with consideration.
554 A Fama captured in war could become an army chief or dignitary in the country of his captor and could found a family there. In no case could he be reduced to captivity on his own territory.

[60] If the vanquished is a man of caste, he is spared captivity and generally enters the service of the conquering Fama;
[608] if he is a sënanku of the victor, the latter gets rid of him by freeing him. Finally, if the captive has the same name as the victorious
[551] Fama, he is freed, because he is recognized as being a relative of the Fama.

When the captive is a free man of humble origin, he is sold by the Fama, unless the Fama gives him to his warriors.

567 2. By obligation. A free individual became a slave in
681 punishment for his crimes or misdemeanors; he was then sold for the
426 profit of the Fama. A fa could sell one of his children to meet his
858 debts, but he subsequently had to try to buy him back once he was freed of his obligations.

567 3. By birth. A woman slave bears only slaves. The slave born in the house is called a wolo-so. If a woman slave is got with child by a free man, she becomes free, as does her child. But if the mother is repudiated, she reverts to slavery, while the child remains free.

567 As the number of slaves grew, their organization became
644 complicated and hierarchic. The slaves under the Fama of Sëgou were divided into series, each having as chief the eldest of the slaves. The eldest of these chiefs became chief of the dyon-kuru or dyon-futu (ensemble of slaves). Monteil shows the important role this slave chief has played in the history of Sëgou. In fact, he was the spokesman for all the grievances of the slaves and often became the Fama's adviser. At the death of the Fama, the slave chief confirmed the power of his successor by assuring him or refusing him, the submission of all the slaves.

428 3. and 4. as above for the head of the family; 5. oldest full brother; 6. oldest half-brother on father's side; 7. the family; 8. the village; 9. the Fama ... Married women may transmit personal property in the following order: 1. her oldest son; 2. her husband's oldest son by another wife; 3. the husband; 4. the woman's family ... [587] At the death of her [73] husband, a woman is not required to marry his heir." (1)

1. Ortoli, Coutume bambara (cercle de Bamako) [Bambara Customs (Bamako Circle)].

851 We should explain here the notion of seniority which is not always easy to distinguish in a polygamous society. As a matter of fact, when two wives of the same husband bear children at roughly the same time, an intermediary announces the births to the fa, and the first baby to be announced is considered to be the oldest. It may even happen that the first one to be announced is in fact the last-born; he nevertheless remains the senior. In the case of twins, the senior [845] is the one brought forth last, for it is thought that twins are not conceived at the same time, and that the last-born is the one first con- [551] ceived. Certain special names are used for the oldest children: N'tyi for boys, Nya or Nyélé for girls.

643 At the Fama's death, several lines of succession are involved: that of his own family, that of the family community, and that of the patriarchy.

As far as election to the title of Fama is concerned, we have seen how the new Fama was the senior male of the same generation and same family as the deceased Fama, or the eldest of the following generation. It is noteworthy that in the case of no male heir, the succession passes to the Fama's daughter whose husband governs in her name; but that is an exceptional case.

643 When the new Fama is designated by the notables, he oc- 644 cupies the fortified residence of the previous Fama, where the founding ancestor is buried; the women and children of the deceased Fama must leave these premises. While his father lived, the Fama's eldest son led a luxurious and independent life; he often commanded an important dugu, sometimes founded by himself. At his father's death, he is a very important person for the new Fama.

582 The Bambara tné differs further from the totem of the Redskin
614 and the Australian: it creates no obstacle to marriage between lineages of the same tne or of different tne. Each man takes a wife wherever he finds her and where he thinks best, and through these alliances the lineages mingle, cross, and recross. They do not merge, however, [537] since the husband keeps his name, or diamou, and with it his tné; he does not take that of his wife. As to the children, they have their father's tné, and his only, and it is his name, or diamou, they bear. /22/

194 The Bambara tné is nothing less than a taboo /sic/. The word itself is very vague and difficult to translate into our French language. It implies primarily a prohibitive command, an order not to do, not to act. Whenever a competent authority -- an alleged genie, such as a boli (who speaks and gives his oracles through the mouth of a herald or interpreter, the djélimac) or a priest of the genii (djiné) believed to preside over the elements, the dougoutigi (who actually does nothing without consulting his council and the sorcerers) whenever the sorcerer (the intermediary between man and the invisible world) or a priest of the shades of the ancestors' (1) --, that is, an

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1. This term seems to me the most accurate. Undoubtedly, the gouatigi, or head of the family makes the sacrifices, but his position does not always correspond to what we call in French the father of the family. He is not always married; although all the family except his mother, brothers, and sisters call him m'fa, "my father," the word "father" should be taken in a very broad sense, as he is quite often only a grand-uncle, an uncle, or a cousin.

authority of a religious character, forbids eating, killing, or looking at an animal; cutting, breaking, or using an object; drinking such-

775 826 may be active and in her dreams she may dwell on the events which accompanied the burial of her dead child. Thus, she sometimes gives birth to an infant which has the marks made by the father. Such occurences contribute not a little to "confirm" the Bambara's belief in reincarnation of souls. At Wélengéla, on the road from Ségou to Sens, there was a Negro who had a cleft upper lip from birth, and the people of the village were unanimous in giving the reason. His mother had given birth only to sickly and puny infants, all of whom died within few weeks. At the death of the last one the father, furious, cut his lip with a stroke of the knife. When he returned to life, the child did not want to take back the lip that his father had removed! I have seen others who from birth had a sort of tattoo on the back, chest, or arms, and the parents of each did not hesitate to tell me that it was the mark made on his deceased older brother.

775 551 Children born after a deceased sister or brother are given a special name; it would seem that the Negroes seek to make the soul of this small being feel how inconsiderate he was toward his parents in coming into the world and immediately leaving, after having kindled both love and hope in their hearts. Perhaps they also think to put on a good countenance before their fellows, for it is a great disgrace not to have children or to have only children who die at birth. Both theories are plausible, and the second would only be an expression of humility disguising a secret hope. The names most frequently given to these latecomers are: Malobali, "shameless one"; Ta fli, "go throw it away"; Foui té, "he is nothing"; Fou, "nothing"; etc. -- If the first theory that I propose is accepted these names would be translated as follows: "Are you not ashamed (i.e., to come into the world only to leave it so soon)?" -- "Might just as well throw you away, bury you (i.e., for all the time /58/ you spend among us)." -- "You are no good /literally, in French: "a being of nothing"/ (you are but a heartless one, you who come to us only to leave us in a short time)." -- "That is nothing." A Negro blowing on the palm of his hand gives us the full meaning of this word; the gesture translates his thought: "You are no more to us than nothing, are you not like a breath that passes and disappears?"

775 551 Like this first theory, the second, too, can be accepted, and the names can be translated as a lament of the parents to those who congratulate them: "He is without shame (doubtless he has come back to leave us again)." --"We may as well throw him away (i.e., will he not leave us shortly?)." -- "He is a worthless man (i.e., do you think he will not abandon us?)." -- "He is nothing (i.e., it all is the same to us whether we have him or not; will he stay with us longer than a breath which passes and disappears?)."

But whatever theory is accepted, the Negroes' belief in the reincarnation of children who died at the breast before having attained the use of reason remains unchanged. They are also generally unanimous in believing in the reincarnation of young men and women and men and women who die in the prime of life. Such persons have not completed the whole cycle of their existence and must begin it again.

And what of the old men? Do not they come back to life? When a child brings to mind the features of a deceased elder of the family, does it not receive his name? A Bambara never uses the name of a man whom he respects in vain or in an unsuitable manner; so a child animated by the soul of an old man is given a second name, a borrowed name, and the real name is known only by the father, the mother, close friends, and the one who bears it. However, many are given a most expressive name which testifies to this belief; they are called segi, sagi, "he who has come back to life."

764 775 The legends -- and there are many -- only confirm what I put forward; so need I cite any? An old man of Fobougou, a village about 30 or 40 kilometers from Ségou, not far from the Bani on the road that leads to Koutiala, was given magnificent funeral honors at his death. The fetishes were brought out of their dirty dens and bathed in the blood of victims; the women sang to the sound of the drum for three days running. It was a festival which lacked nothing, not even 775 d'lo, or millet beer. A few years later some young people of the village going in search of work went into the Tlébi (1) region,

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1. The term Tlébi is used to denote the entire western region, including Bamako, Kati, Kita, Kayes, Bakel, etc., as far as the ocean.

775 walking in the direction of Kita. They stopped in a village near this city and were lodged by a Malinke (2). On entering the courtyard,

2. A Mandingo tribe whose group "taboo" is the Mali or Mani, the hippopotamus.

they stopped dumfounded, for they found sitting on a mat an elderly man whose features were familiar to them, -- wasn't he the old man of Fobougou? It was he, for he greeted them and asked them news of the old men of the village and of the members of his family. After supper they returned to the courtyard, wanting to sit near their old man, whom they had found again so far from his native land, but he was no longer there, and their host told them that he had fled, refusing to tell what direction he was taking.... "That was our old man," say the people of Fobougou with great conviction, for they believe in this as in the capture of Ségou. "Our young people saw him, talked with him, and some had known him before his death. Without doubt," they add, "he must have suffered in his family while he was alive, so he did not dare come back to life in our midst." This story, which I heard in Fobougou itself, is told more or less everywhere with a few variations; in September, 1908, between Ségou and Koulikoro on the Niger, one of the laptot (3) told it to his colleagues as they squatted

[605] 3. Negroes who serve as sailors on the river are called laptot.

around him in a circle.

775 531 576 In Ouentja, a village an hour and a half or two hours at the most from the Bani, on the road between Ségou and Koutiala, the people have such great respect for one of their deceased former chiefs, the old sagi, that they avoid saying his name. They have even changed or rather abbreviated one of their greetings, and while almost everywhere else strangers are greeted with the words: "i dangha sagi," here they say to you only: "i danghana (4)." According to the /60/

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4. I dangha sagi, "may you be blessed on your arrival, on your return into our midst." -- (Your return to us is a blessing.) -- The Negroes abbreviate, saying, i dana sagi; it is only old men and those who pride themselves on speaking their language well, who articulate clearly and say i dangha sagi.

legend, this sagi whose name one avoids taking in vain, was chief of the village and influential in its environs. He died very old, took on flesh again in the womb of a woman of the family, and recommenced the cycle of his existence. He again became village chief, and again died in extreme old age, and returned to the flesh again a third time. As always he was chief, passed from life to death in extreme old age, was honored and respected by everyone, and received funeral honors such as have never been awarded to any Negro prince.

775 At the time of death the soul goes into Lahara, a vague word, so vague that a Bambara cannot define it or give you any idea of it. It is the place where the invisible beings live and where everything becomes invisible. Children and those who have not completely fulfilled the cycle of their existence, only pass through and hasten to return to the wombs of their mothers, or at least to those of women of their families.

775 769 A secret force urges old men to return to the flesh again in their own family, but sometimes they refuse and seek limbs elsewhere. They spend a longer time in Lahara and, doubtless matured by experience, they are not always in a hurry to reappear. Many remain there for a number of years, awaiting a favorable moment, and this uncertainty hovering over the fate of the old men, may be a reason for sacrifices to the dead. One definite fact is that these sacrifices are directed only to the dead who have had authority in the country, the village, or the family, and the honors rendered them seem to be

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> sees everything. The old men explain this to you with an intensity that proves their good faith, and children recite the sayings of the old men with a frankness so naive that one cannot misunderstand it.

a Being endowed with reason and all powerful. The term is the translation of the word sa.

It is apparent that in the beginning the word Alla in no way meant a Being or an Individual; it simply expressed a concept, an idea already known, accepted and translated by the word sa, and the Bambara simply adopted a foreign word corresponding to their own concept.

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If to the Bambara the word Alla had meant the Divinity Himself, the Supreme Being, would they ever have dared to speak it, to make it their own? I cannot bring myself to believe that they would, among them the name of a powerful person, a religious chief, or venerated being is never spoken in vain or in an unsuitable manner. If some of their kings, among them /79/ N'golo, not to mention others, punished anyone caught speaking his /the royal/ name by fines and prison, cast them into slavery, and even beheaded them as guilty of the crime of lese majesty, what would they not have to fear from the Creator if they spoke His name in vain and inappropriately! Furthermore, it is a widespread custom to avoid speaking the name of one who is feared or venerated.

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No well-bred and self-respecting woman ever speaks the name of her husband. She speaks of him as né tigi ("my master"), so tigi ("the master of the house"). Most frequently she adorns him with a borrowed name, a bougna toua, or name of respect, and a polygamist has several such names, each wife giving him one of her own invention.

In well-brought-up families -- and most of them are (1) -- the

> 1. Our Bambara Negroes have great respect for the members of their families and are considerate of them;

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in this respect they are far superior to any of the Arabs of Algeria, for example. Family life is more open and cordial among them.

children do not speak the name of their father, especially if he is a gouatigi, or family head, and when a swarm of children are enjoying themselves around their old daddy, only one word is on all the little lips to awaken his attention, avoid his reprimand, call for his caress, and bring forth his smile: Koké-yo -- koké-wé! (2)

2. I use the word Koké-yo -- (Né koké) koké we (koké, "I beg you, Koké") -- because it is the most common; there are obviously other similar terms. Favorite wives also like to call their husbands by this name. For everyone it is a term of respect and at the same time it is tender, affectionate, and coaxing.

[888] Old men are given borrowed names, bougna toua, out of respect and veneration, and the reason for this practice is to avoid having to speak their names in vain and unsuitably. The practice is current, and it is even carried to an extreme, for although a child is given a respect name within his family, he is never called by that name. How many people there are whose real name is not known except by close relatives and friends! All the Dougoutigi, To-n-tigi, Ba-koroba, and [553] Moké-touama received a name on the eighth day after their birth, and the names used to designate them are borrowed names. /80/

888 793 576 551 In the environs of Ségou, where Islam is widespread and spreads farther every day, the sacrificers to the protecting genii of the villages, the gnéna-n-sonna ba, or dougoutigi, have lost some of their prestige, but anyone who respects them, even if he be a Moslem, never speaks their names. At the present time in Bani country, where the old customs and traditions are preserved with jealous care, there is not a

888 793 576 551 child, woman, or young man that can tell you the name of the great sacrificer of the village if the latter is in the least old. Out of respect and veneration his name is never spoken; he is the head, and if they are questioned all will answer: "Toua si t'a la dougoutigi ko, he has no other name than that of dougoutigi, head of the village." And, in fact, most of the people know no other name for him.

551 576 779 This need to avoid speaking the name of whosoever is respected, venerated, or feared goes so far as to bring about the abbreviation of phrases customarily used in salutations (1), so it can easily be imagined

1. See what I said in this connection in the preceding chapter, /section on/ "Reincarnation of Souls," pertaining to Ouentja.

that the name of the fetishes is not known except by their masters and their initiates. Of course, a Moslem, a woman, an uncircumcised man, or an unexcised woman can tell you the number of the gnéna and gnâ owned by the village, and they also know whether the gnéna (djiné) include a Dasiri, Ngolo, Koté, Ntomo, Tauri, etc., and whether the gnâ (boli, sétané) include a Komo, Nia, Douga, Kono, Nama, Bala, etc. But except for the initiates, who could tell you that a certain boli is called Sélé, Magné, Toroba, Dono, or Nono, or that the Magna is also called Tjarofign and the Nama, Sirima-n-fign? Only the generic name is known, and it is in good taste not to pronounce even that when extending an invitation to a festival in its honor. The Nama is enclosed in a beehive in the shade of a tamarind tree, which in turn are enclosed in coarse mats, and when an invitation is given to the sacrifice, the most stylish formula is: "Come and see us, an bi djasé (2) son, we are sacrificing to the /81/ palisade." The trumpet

2. Djasé, name of a palisade composed of large mats. Children born at the time of the sacrifices to the Nama, who are dedicated to the fetish, are frequently given the name

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Djasé instead of Nama or Namakoro. The Nama is sometimes surrounded by a wall instead of mats. This is extremely unusual, and I have seen only one sanctuary of this kind, at Dougoutigila in the Bani /region/.

of the Komo is of iron, so one says: "An bi nége son, we are sacrificing to the iron." A fetish can give health in the sense that it can refrain from causing sickness if it is a gnâ, or it can actually give health and well-being if it is a gnéna; thus the expression used most frequently is: "An ta foura bi son, we are sacrificing to our cure," or again: "An ta foura bi djigi so, our cure is paying us the honor of a visit."

776 Are we here dealing with a recent custom, which dates from the arrival of the Moslem? I cannot accept this idea, for all the evidence indicates that it antedates presence, I believe without hesitation that the name of the Divinity or Supreme Being was never spoken by the Bambara, that they were not permitted to pronounce it. It is not surprising, then, that the name should gradually have been lost, erased from their memories so that it is unknown at present.

Moreover, since the Bambara God was without priest, altar, or sacrifice, was there any need to speak His name? According to their ideas, the gnéna or djiné are beings intermediate between men and angels, put in charge of the elements by the Divinity and delegated by Him to distribute His favors and His punishments to human beings; would it then be foolish and presumptuous to believe that since the beginning he only addressed God through the mediation of the gnéna or djiné? I cannot doubt that the Bambara implored the djiné to present their homage and worship to their Lord, the Lord of the whole universe, to their Tigi ani fen bé tigi yé, as the sorcerers always say in their liturgical ceremonies. The latter are the watchful guardians of the ancient formulas and customs; that is the source of all their prestige.

Moreover, the worship of the gnéna, or djiné, antedates that of the gnâ (boli or sétané). It has no history; its origin is lost in the darkness of the ages, and in this fact I see a new reason to believe that they were the first intermediaries between man and God.

845 778 431 If one of the twins dies early in life, as usually happens, the survivor receives a statuette which he keeps all his life with jealous care and to which he gives the name of the deceased. He dresses it to the best of his ability, often covers it with glass trinkets, such as bangles, beads, bits of amber, rings, etc., and well-bred people never give him a gift without adding at least 5 cowrie shells for the statuette.

845 778 825 The sinsin also grants twins a curious privilege. A scorpion not only cannot bite them, it is even at their service, and on their order will bite a fellow who has displeased them.

845 778

A twins' doll.

845 ● 551 It is easy to recognize twins (flani in Bambara) as they have special names, the commonest being Sinna, Maféné, Gno, and Ouassa. /99/

10. The Genie Protector of Villages

776 621 The genie protector of a village lives on a knoll or a rock; almost always, if not invariably, its home is a baobab or false cedar near the walls, in a little grove intersected by neat paths, well kept and often raked.

778 family.
782 At the end of every important sacrifice, all the objects which make up the fetish are washed in the blood that has collected in the earthen receptacles called da, and it is not until after this operation, performed in the deepest silence, that the objects are replaced in their goatskins.

778 Negroes like to give the name of the fetish to children born at
● 55/ times of great sacrifices. I would even say that in studying the "names of people" one learns to know the gnâ, or boli, the gnéna, or djiné, and becomes initiated into the usages and customs of the country.

Names of children dedicated to the Komo, the most popular in the district of Ségou: Boli, boli ba, Néné, Nono, Négé son (or Négi son) (5), Togo-ba-tjé (6). /154/

5. Négi son: sacrifice to iron. Sometimes the word Komo is left unspoken out of respect, and the child is designated by one of the pieces of the fetish. The objects mentioned in the case of the Komo are three iron tubes (négi), sometimes called Komo djoloko ("chains of the Komo") in the presence of the uninitiated. The tube used as a trumpet is called tama guengueba.

6. Togo, "name"; ba, "big"; tjé, "man," etc.

Names of children dedicated to the Nama, the most important fetish after the Komo: Djasé, Sirima, Namakoro, Nama (1).

1. Djasé, the palisade which surrounds the sanctuary of the Nama. Sirimafign is the diamou, or family or lineal name, of the Nama.

Children dedicated to the Nia: Nia-gné foula, Nia-n-ti, Nia-n-nkoro, Nia.
Children dedicated to the Kono: Niélé, Tjétjélé, Djonké (2).

2. Djonke, a respectful appellation often applied to the master of the Kono. Tjétjélé, the password of the initiates of the Kono and its family name, or diamou. When a stranger appears at the sacrifice, he is asked the question: "E b'a la wa Wélema djonké? Are you of the sect of Wélema djonké?" Only a brother can answer: "Tjétjélé, ne b'a la. Tjétjélé, I am."

Children dedicated to the Magna: Ma-n-djé, Magna, Magné.
Children dedicated to the Djo: Djo, Djokoro, Djoméné.
Children dedicated to the Douga: Dougakoro, Douga-n-tjé.
Children dedicated to the Da: Dakoro, Da-n-son, Da-n-wélé.
Children dedicated to the Bala: Bala, Balake, Mousa and Misa (3).

3. Mousa and Misa are synonyms of Bala and not a translation of the name Moses.

It is also on a powerful boli, or rather in its presence, that the Bambara swear to an indissoluble friendship, a friendship so close that it finds the two persons and their children like a kinship tie. This is the sinnakoun! No Negro has ever been able to talk to me about it with any clarity or precision, so that I am unable to give it a very exact definition. Basing my interpretation on the custom -- widespread among the Bambara -- of a woman showing her breast in order to indicate clearly that she is the mother of a child (a wolo ba, "his